

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 204077 TOSEC 090168  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/PAB:JACOON/MW  
APPROVED BY NEA - SIDNEY SOBER  
S/S:0 - JETHYDEN  
D:JNYE (SUBSTANCE)  
EUR:RVINE (SUBSTANCE)  
D:DLAMB

-----063585 260334Z /61

O 260303Z AUG 77 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 204077 TOSEC 090168

NODIS  
TO THE SECRETARY FROM NEA - . SOBER, ACTING

E.O. 11652: XGDS 3

TAGS: MNUC, PK, FR

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM: YOUR MEETING WITH SENATOR  
GLENN SATURDAY AFTERNOON, AUGUST 27 7722015 )

REF: SECTO 90934, TOSEC 090108

### 1. PARTICIPANTS

THE SECRETARY  
SENATOR GLENN

### 2. KEY ISSUE

TO CONSULT WITH SENATOR GLENN TO CONFIRM THAT MOVING  
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AHEAD ON NEW AID AGREEMENTS WITH PAKISTAN IS CONSISTENT WITH  
THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE GLENN AMENDMENT.

ESSENTIAL FACTORS: YOU HAVE APPROVED MOVING AHEAD ON NEW  
AID AGREEMENTS WITH PAKISTAN SUBJECT TO PRIOR CONSULTATION  
WITH SENATOR GLENN. THE GLENN AMENDMENT, WHICH SUPERSEDES  
SYMINGTON, MANDATES AID CUT-OFFS FOR ANY REPROCESSING AFTER

PASSAGE OF THE AMENDMENT (AUGUST 4). TO OUR KNOWLEDGE THERE HAVE BEEN NO TRANSFERS SINCE THAT DATE AND WE HAVE FRENCH ASSURANCE THAT THERE WILL BE NO FURTHER TRANSFERS FOR AN

INDEFINITE PERIOD. MOREOVER, A RECENT HIGHLY SENSITIVE FRENCH PROPOSAL MAY PROVIDE NEW OPPORTUNITIES TO ACHIEVE OUR BASIC OBJECTIVE OF PREVENTING PAKISTAN FROM ACQUIRING REPROCESSING CAPABILITIES. WE NEED, THEREFORE, TO INFORM THE SENATOR OF THE NEW FRENCH INITIATIVES AND ASCERTAIN THAT SIGNING NEW AID AGREEMENTS AT THIS TIME ACCORDS WITH CONGRESSIONAL INTENT.

BOTH WE AND AID WOULD LIKE TO MOVE AHEAD PROMPTLY SINCE FAILURE TO SIGN NEW AGREEMENTS MAY SOON BECOME A PUBLIC ISSUE IN THE PAKISTANI ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND SUCH A DEVELOPMENT COULD SEVERELY UNDERCUT THE FRENCH INITIATIVES.

DR. SCHEINMAN, SENIOR ADVISOR TO JOE NYE, WILL BE ARRIVING TOKYO AT 2:40 FRIDAY AFTERNOON AND IS FULLY BRIEFED ON THE SUBJECT.

POINTS TO BE MADE:

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-- AS THE SENATOR IS AWARE, WE HAVE BEEN DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT PAKISTAN'S OBTAINING A FRENCH NUCLEAR REPROCESSING PLANT WHICH WE SEE AS A PAKISTANI EFFORT TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY.

-- WE HAVE BEEN TRYING IN BOTH PARIS AND ISLAMABAD TO HAVE THE DEAL DEFERRED INDEFINITELY OR CANCELLED. THE PRESENT MARTIAL LAW GOVERNMENT IN PAKISTAN, HOWEVER, INSISTS ON LEAVING ALL POLITICAL DECISIONS, SUCH AS A POSSIBLE DELAY ON REPROCESSING TRANSFERS, TO THE POST-ELECTION GOVERNMENT. IN THE MEANTIME, PAKISTAN IS CONTINUING TO PRESS THE FRENCH ON FURTHER SHIPMENTS. HOWEVER, THERE HAVE BEEN SOME ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENTS OF A HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL NATURE ON THE FRENCH SIDE WHICH I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE WITH YOU ON A PURELY PERSONAL BASIS.

-- THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER RECENTLY TOLD AMBASSADOR HARTMAN THAT HE WOULD PROPOSE TO THE PAKISTANIS IN EARLY SEPTEMBER THAT SINCE THE ORIGINAL CONTRACT WAS NEGOTIATED, REPROCESSING TECHNIQUES HAVE CHANGED, AND FRANCE NOW PROPOSES TO RESTRUCTURE THE PLANT SO THAT IT WILL PRODUCE A PRODUCT ONLY USABLE AS REACTOR FUEL AND NOT PURE PLUTONIUM.

PENDING CONSIDERATION OF THE NEW PLANS, NO MORE EQUIPMENT  
WILL BE SHIPPED.

-- WE BELIEVE THE PAKISTANIS WILL BE FACED WITH A DILEMMA.  
REJECTING OFFER WOULD BE AN EXPLICIT ADMISSION THAT THEIR  
RESTRUCTURED PLANT WOULD BE ECONOMICALLY UNJUSTIFIED,  
GIVEN PAKISTAN'S MODEST NUCLEAR POWER PROGRAM.

-- FOR OUR PART, WE HAVE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN EXPLORING  
THE FRENCH PROPOSAL, BUT WE ARE RESERVING JUDGMENT ON ITS  
MERITS UNTIL WE HAVE MORE INFORMATION.

-- AS THE SENATOR KNOWS, THE SYMINGTON AMENDMENT CALLED FOR  
CESSATION OF AID IF A COUNTRY RECEIVED REPROCESSING TECH-  
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NOLOGY OR EQUIPMENT. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THE FRENCH  
HAVE SUPPLIED BLUEPRINTS FOR THE ORIGINAL PLANT. WITH  
THIS IN MIND, SINCE JULY AID HAS SIGNED NO NEW AGREEMENTS  
WITH PAKISTAN. THE MATTER HAS REMAINED UNDER REVIEW AND  
HAS NOT BECOME A BILATERAL ISSUE WITH THE PAKISTAN  
GOVERNMENT AS THERE WERE NO AGREEMENTS READY FOR SIGNATURE  
UNTIL RECENTLY.

-- ON AUGUST 4 THE GLENN AMENDMENT SUPERSEDED SYMINGTON,  
AND MANDATES AN AID CUT-OFF IF A COUNTRY RECEIVES RE-  
PROCESSING EQUIPMENT OR TECHNOLOGY ON OR AFTER THE DATE  
OF ENACTMENT. WE ARE REASSURED ON THE BASIS OF THE NEW  
FRENCH PROPOSAL THAT FURTHER TRANSFERS WILL NOT TAKE PLACE  
FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD. THEREFORE, SIGNING NEW AGREE-  
MENTS WITH PAKISTAN WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THE LANGUAGE  
OF THE AMENDMENT. BEFORE SIGNING ANY NEW AGREEMENTS WITH  
PAKISTAN, HOWEVER, WE WANTED TO DISCUSS WITH THE SENATOR  
THE POLICY CONSIDERATIONS WHICH LEAD US TO BELIEVE THAT  
SUCH ACTION WOULD BE IN OUR BEST INTEREST.

-- WE SEE THE NEW FRENCH PROPOSAL AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR  
ATTAINING OUR BASIC OBJECTIVE OF PREVENTING PAKISTAN FROM  
OBTAINING REPROCESSING CAPABILITY THAT CARRIES WITH IT THE  
RISK OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. HOWEVER, FAILURE TO SIGN  
NEW AID AGREEMENTS AT THIS TIME WOULD BECOME A POLITICAL  
CAUSE CELEBRE IN PAKISTAN, FURTHER STIFFENING THE INCLINA-  
TION OF ANY POST-ELECTION (OCTOBER 18) GOVERNMENT TO GO  
AHEAD WITH THE REPROCESSING PLANT. MORE IMPORTANTLY, IT  
COULD UNDERCUT THE FRENCH INITIATIVE.

-- WITH THE END OF THE FISCAL YEAR IN SIGHT, THERE ARE NOW  
A NUMBER OF AGREEMENTS WITH PAKISTAN PENDING. GOVERNOR  
GILLIGAN AND I HAVE AGREED THAT WE WILL NOT MOVE AHEAD  
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UNTIL AFTER CONSULTING WITH YOU TO CONFIRM THAT SIGNING  
NEW AGREEMENTS CONFORMS NOT ONLY TO THE LETTER OF YOUR  
AMENDMENT BUT ALSO TO ITS SPIRIT. WE WILL, OF COURSE, KEEP  
YOU INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS.

3. CLEARANCES: T/D:JNYE (SUBSTANCE), EUR:RVINE(SUBSTANCE)  
O;DLAMB ;DRAFTED:NEA/PAB:JACOON; APPROVAL:NEA;SSOBER  
CHRISTOPHER

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** MNUC, OREP, EAID, PK, FR, US, (GLENN, JOHN)  
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